

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8716
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 BONN 09252

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, BQG, NATO, EEC
SUBJECT: NATO MINISTERIAL: SENIOR LEVEL MEETING ON
BERLIN AND GERMANY -- ASSESSMENT

REF: (A) STATE 126736
(B) BONN 9005
(C) USNATO 5010

BEGIN SUMMARY. BECAUSE OF A NUMBER OF FCO-PROPOSED
CHANGES, MANY PURELY EDITORIAL, THE BONN GROUP MET
MAY 20 TO REDRAFT THE ASSESSMENT. THERE FOLLOWS THE
COMPLETE TEXT OF THE ASSESSMENT AS NOW AGREED AD REF.
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SPECIFIC COMMENTS ON THE CHANGES ARE AT THE END OF THE
CABLE. ACTION REQUESTED: APPROVAL OF TEXT IN
PARAGRAPH 1. END SUMMARY.

1. BEGIN TEXT
I. GENERAL TRENDS
(1) WHILE THE BERLIN SITUATION AS A WHOLE HAS REMAINED

UNCHANGED OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS, THERE HAS BEEN
RELATIVE CALM AND NO MAJOR DISTURBANCE IN AND AROUND
THE CITY. BEGIN UK BRACKETS TENSIONS WITH THE SOVIET
UNION OVER BERLIN, THOUGH NEVER ENTIRELY ABSENT, ARE
PROBABLY AT AS LOW A POINT AS THEY HAVE BEEN FOR SEVERAL
YEARS. END UK BRACKETS IT HAS BEEN REAFFIRMED BY THE
SOVIET AUTHORITIES ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS DURING THE PAST
SIX MONTHS, MOST SIGNIFICANTLY BY BREZHNEV TO CHANCELLOR
SCHMIDT, THAT THEY ARE SATISFIED WITH THE QUADRIPARTITE
AGREEMENT, ALTHOUGH THEY CONTINUE TO EXPRESS DIS-
SATISFACTION WITH ITS IMPLEMENTATION. THE BREZHNEV
VISIT TO BONN DID NOT REMOVE ANY OF THE CONCRETE
PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH BERLIN NOR DID IT AFFECT THE
UNDERLYING DIFFERENCES WITH REGARD TO THE BERLIN
QUESTION. NEVERTHELESS THE FEDERAL GERMAN GOVERNMENT
HOPES THAT THE VISIT MAY HAVE GIVEN THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT
A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF THE WESTERN POSITION.

(2) IN THE KEY AREAS OF CIVILIAN ACCESS TO BERLIN AND
THE TIES BETWEEN BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF
GERMANY, THE SITUATION CONTINUES TO BE GENERALLY
SATISFACTORY, ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES AND THE
GDR CONTINUE TO TRY TO IMPOSE THEIR RESTRICTIVE
INTERPRETATION OF THOSE PASSAGES OF THE QA RELATING TO
TIES AND THE REPRESENTATION ABROAD BY THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY OF BERLIN'S INTERESTS.
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(3) BERLIN'S ECONOMIC SITUATION HAS REMAINED LARGELY
UNCHANGED OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS WITH A RATE OF
UNEMPLOYMENT WHICH IS ONE PERCENT HIGHER THAN IN
THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND A SLOWER RATE OF
ECONOMIC GROWTH. HOWEVER, NEW MEASURES DEVISED BY THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE BERLIN SENAT ARE EXPECTED TO
INCREASE FEDERAL ECONOMIC AID SUBSTANTIALLY. BOTH
PRESIDENT SCHEEL'S BERLIN COMMISSION AND THE GOVERNING
MAYOR HAVE MADE GREAT EFFORTS TO REINFORCE BERLIN'S
VIABILITY. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOOD IN BERLIN HAS
IMPROVED SOMEWHAT IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS.

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(4) LOOKING AHEAD, TWO DEVELOPMENTS MAY CAUSE INCREASED DIFFERENCES WITH THE SOVIET UNION: THE ASSUMPTION BY THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF THE BUNDESRAT PRESIDENCY AND THE SEATING OF BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES AS MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL GERMAN DELEGATION IN THE FIRST DIRECTLY ELECTED EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY (EVEN THOUGH THE BERLINERS ARE THEMSELVES TO BE SELECTED BY THE BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND NOT DIRECTLY ELECTED). THE USSR AND THE GDR WILL BE RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT THESE DEVELOPMENTS WHICH THE ALLIES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY CONSIDER TO BE NORMAL AND PERMISSIBLE. THERE IS, HOWEVER, UNLIKELY TO BE VERY SERIOUS TROUBLE.
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(5) PROBLEMS OF A DIFFERENT KIND ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE IN CONNECTION WITH THE APPLICABILITY TO BERLIN OF COMMUNITY AGREEMENT WITH CEMA COUNTRIES. THESE ARISE BECAUSE OF SOVIET RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT BERLIN'S INCLUSION IN THE AREA OF APPLICATION OF THE TREATIES SETTING UP THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES.

II. SOVIET AND GDR POLICIES OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS

(6) THE NUMBER OF CASES OF GDR INTERFERENCE WITH TRANSIT TRAVEL ROSE SHARPLY BETWEEN THE END OF SEPTEMBER 1977 AND THE END OF JANUARY 1978. ALTHOUGH THE NUMBER OF CASES WAS SMALL IN RELATION TO THE NUMBER OF TRANSIT JOURNEYS MADE WITHOUT INCIDENT (ONE IN 5,000 IN JANUARY), THE FACT THAT THE GDR CLAIMED RIGHTS OF SEARCH WIDER THAN THOSE PROVIDED FOR BY THE BILATERAL TRANSIT AGREEMENT AND THE GDR'S USE OF INTERFERENCE WITH TRAVELLERS TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TO CURB EXFILTRATION VIA THE TRANSIT ROUTES, CAUSED CONCERN. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DECIDED IN FEBRUARY TO DO WHAT IT COULD BY PUBLICITY AND BY ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGAL MEASURES TO REDUCE PROFESSIONAL EXFILTRATION. AT THE SAME TIME IT RAISED THE ISSUE AT A HIGH LEVEL WITH THE GDR. THEREAFTER THE INTERFERENCE CEASED ALMOST OVERNIGHT AND THE SITUATION HAS RETURNED TO NORMAL.

(7) WITH RESPECT TO ACCESS TO THE EASTERN SECTOR, DESPITE RUMORS, THERE WERE NO DIFFICULTIES FOR THE ALLIES, BUT THE GDR CONTINUED TO DENY ACCESS TO CERTAIN LIMITED CATEGORIES OF GERMANS RESIDENT IN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN.

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(8) IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE NOT MADE THEIR PROTESTS TO THE THREE ALLIES IN CAPITALS OR IN MOSCOW SINCE OCTOBER 1977. PROTESTS IN BERLIN AND IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND ORGANIZATIONS HAVE CONTINUED AT THEIR USUAL PACE, BUT THEY HAVE SEEMED TO BE MADE PARTLY FOR THE RECORD. IN NO CASE HAS THE SOVIET UNION BEEN ABLE TO PREVENT THE CONTINUED REPRESENTATION ABROAD OF THE INTERESTS OF BERLIN BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.

(9) FINALLY, AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT, THE BREZHNEV VISIT PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY TO TRY TO NARROW THE GAP BETWEEN, ON THE ONE HAND, THE SOVIET, AND, ON THE OTHER, THE ALLIED AND FEDERAL GERMAN ATTITUDES REGARDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QA. ALTHOUGH AS, EXPECTED, NO BREAKTHROUGHS WERE ACHIEVED, BREZHNEV EMPHASIZED THAT THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT WISH TO CREATE DIFFICULTIES FOR BERLIN, AND THE SOVIET UNION AGREED, FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1973, TO REPEAT IN FULL THE "PETERSBURG FORMULA", I.E. "BOTH SIDES CONFIRM THE VIEW THAT STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT OF 3 SEPTEMBER 1971 CONTINUE TO BE AN ESSENTIAL

PREREQUISITE FOR LASTING DETENTE IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATES CONCERNED, NOTABLY BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE SOVIET UNION".

(10) DESPITE THE INDICATIONS ABOVE THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR MAY BE PREPARED TO REDUCE TENSIONS OVER BERLIN, THE FACT REMAINS THAT THEY HAVE CONTINUED THEIR EFFORTS TO LIMIT THE SCOPE OF THE TIES BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN AS WELL AS TO ENHANCE SOVIET (AND GDR) INFLUENCE OVER EVENTS CONCERNING THOSE SECTORS. THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS WARSAW PACT ALLIES CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO DEVELOP DIRECT "TIES" WITH THE WESTERN
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SECTORS OF BERLIN AS IF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN

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WERE A "SEPARATE POLITICAL ENTITY" AND LARGELY TO PREVENT THE INCLUSION OF BERLIN AND BERLINERS IN THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. THE USSR AND THE GDR HAVE PROTESTED A NUMBER OF GERMAN AND EC ACTIVITIES IN AND CONCERNING BERLIN, AND THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS CEMA PARTNERS CONTINUE TO BE RELUCTANT TO CONCLUDE TREATIES WITH THE EC IF BERLIN IS TO BE IN THE AREA OF THEIR APPLICABILITY. THE GDR, WITH SOVIET SUPPORT, HAS SOUGHT ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS TO ASSERT A COMPETENCE IT DOES NOT HAVE WITH RESPECT TO THE QA AND WEST BERLIN, AND TO INTERJECT ITSELF IN FOUR-POWER MATTERS BY RAISING SUCH MATTERS WITH THE ALLIES AND THE SENAT. THE PUBLICATION OF THE SOVIET/GDR
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DOCUMENTATION ON THE QA, WHICH IMPLICITLY PORTRAYS THE GDR AS AN EQUAL PARTNER OF THE USSR IN ENSURING COMPLIANCE WITH AND THE SUCCESS OF THAT AGREEMENT, MUST ALSO BE SEEN IN THIS CONTEXT.

(11) ALSO OF CONCERN IS THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE CONTINUED TO ASSERT THAT ONLY WEST BERLIN HAS A FOUR-POWER STATUS AND HAVE ARGUED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS A RIGHT OF CO-DETERMINATION REGARDING WHAT IS PERMITTED TO GO ON IN THE WESTERN SECTORS. SOVIET FLAG PATROLS IN THE WESTERN SECTORS HAVE BECOME MORE OBVIOUS AND ON OCCASION OBTRUSIVE. THEIR CONDUCT IN REMOVING POLITICAL POSTERS THEY CONSIDERED OFFENSIVE AND IN INTERFERING WITH PRESIDENT SCHEEL'S MOTORCADE HAS NECESSITATED ALLIED PROTESTS. IN ADDITION, THE SOVIET CONSULATE GENERAL HAS ON A FEW OCCASIONS TRIED TO TAKE UP POLITICAL MATTERS, PARTICULARLY WITH THE SENAT, CONTRARY TO AGREED MINUTE II OF THE QA.

III. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE THREE POWERS AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

(12) WHILE THERE IS ROOM FOR GUARDED OPTIMISM BASED ON THE EVENTS OF THE PAST SIX MONTHS THERE IS NO REASON TO EXPECT ANY BASIC CHANGE IN SOVIET POLICY AND THE EVIDENCE IS INSUFFICIENT TO GIVE PROMISE OF A LONG-TERM IMPROVEMENT IN THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WESTERN SECTORS. NO DOUBT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO REGARD BERLIN AS A CONVENIENT LEVER WHICH THEY CAN TRY TO USE TO INFLUENCE THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC

OF GERMANY, AND, IN DIFFERENT WAYS, THE GDR. THE EAST
GERMAN AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO RESENT THE LIMITATIONS
IMPOSED ON FULL GDR SOVEREIGNTY BY THE BERLIN SITUATION
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AND TO FEAR THE IMPACT WHICH WEST BERLIN HAS ON THE
EAST GERMAN POPULATION. THE RELATIVELY RESTRAINED
SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARDS BERLIN IN RECENT MONTHS MAY WELL
REFLECT TRANSIENT FACTORS SUCH AS THE BREZHNEV VISIT.
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S CAREFUL EFFORTS TO REMOVE
UNNECESSARY CAUSES OF FRICTION HAVE ALSO ENSURED THAT
THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE HAD FEWER OPPORTUNITIES TO
PROTEST. ONLY THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARDS BERLIN
MATTERS IN THE MONTHS TO COME WILL SHOW WHETHER THE
EXPECTATIONS OF THE FEDERAL GERMAN GOVERNMENT AFTER THE
BREZHNEV VISIT ARE JUSTIFIED IN THE LONG TERM.

(13) IT THUS SEEMS CERTAIN THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL
CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS TO WEAKEN THE TIES BETWEEN THE
WESTERN SECTORS AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY WITH
THE LONG-TERM GOAL THAT THE CITY WILL IN FACT TO
CONVERTED INTO THE "INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ENTITY" THE
SOVIET UNION AND GDR ALREADY CLAIM IT IS. THE SOVIET
AUTHORITIES WILL PRESUMABLY CONTINUE THE PAPER WAR OF
PROTESTS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES WILL
CONTINUE TO BE HYPERSENSITIVE TO WHAT THEY DESCRIBE AS
ATTEMPTS BY THE ALLIES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF
GERMANY TO CHANGE, TO EASTERN DISADVANTAGE THE LEGAL
SITUATION OF BERLIN. IN THIS CONTEXT THEY WILL ATTEMPT
TO OBSTRUCT BOTH BERLIN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE
ACTIVITIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES AND THE MAIN-
TENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TIES BETWEEN THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND BERLIN IN CERTAIN FIELDS.

(14) IN THE INTEREST OF THE SECURITY AND VIABILITY OF
THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT
CONSENSUS BE MAINTAINED AMONG THE ALLIES AND THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. COORDINATION AMONG
THE FOUR GOVERNMENTS DURING THE PAST SIX MONTHS HAS BEEN
VERY SATISFACTORY ALTHOUGH IT SOMETIMES TOOK LONGER THAN
WAS DESIRABLE. WHILE THERE MAY SOMETIMES HAVE BEEN
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DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH, A CONSENSUS WAS REACHED
WHENEVER NECESSARY.

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IV. QUESTIONS REQUIRING PARTICULAR ATTENTION IN THE FUTURE

(15) SEVERAL QUESTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO MERIT
PARTICULARLY CLOSE ATTENTION DURING THE COMING MONTHS:

(A) PARTICIPATION OF BERLINERS IN THE
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY.

THE FIRST DIRECT ELECTIONS ARE SCHEDULED FOR
JUNE 1979 AND THESE WILL BECOME A TOPIC OF EVER-
INCREASING PUBLIC ATTENTION, NOT LEAST IN
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BERLIN. THE THREE POWERS APPROVED IN JULY 1977, SUBJECT TO ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, THE EXTENSION TO BERLIN OF THE DECISION AND ACT OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON DIRECT ELECTIONS. THIS WAS DONE ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WOULD SELECT MEMBERS FOR THOSE SEATS WHICH FELL TO BERLIN WITHIN THE QUOTA FOR THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, RATHER THAN THAT THEY SHOULD BE ELECTED BY DIRECT SUFFRAGE. THE FEDERAL GERMAN BILL LAYING DOWN THE MODALITIES OF DIRECT ELECTIONS BECAME LAW IN APRIL 1978 AND IS EXPECTED TO BE TAKEN OVER IN BERLIN VERY SHORTLY. THE LAW REQUIRES THE BERLIN MEMBERS TO BE SELECTED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE BASIS OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSE, BUT DOES NOT GO INTO FURTHER DETAIL ON HOW THIS SHOULD BE DONE. AN ALL-PARTY COMMISSION IS CONSIDERING THIS POINT IN BERLIN. WHILE THE SOVIET UNION IS LIKELY TO OBJECT TO ANY PARTICIPATION BY BERLINERS IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY, REGARDLESS OF HOW THEY ARE SELECTED, SOVIET SENSITIVITIES WOULD BE PARTICULARLY EXACERBATED IF AN EXTRAORDINARY DEGREE OF PUBLICITY WERE GIVEN TO BERLINERS' PARTICIPATION OR IF THE CAREFULLY CONSTRUCTED DISTINCTION BETWEEN INDIRECTLY CHOSEN BERLIN MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY AND DIRECTLY ELECTED MEMBERS FROM THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (AND ALL OTHER EC COUNTRIES) WERE ERODED OR BLURRED. ACCORDINGLY IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO CONSULT CLOSELY ON HOW THE SELECTION OF THE BERLIN MEMBERS IS CARRIED OUT BY THE BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

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(B) INCLUSION OF BERLIN IN EC AGREEMENTS WITH CEMA COUNTRIES.

IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE CONTINUING VIABILITY OF BERLIN THAT IT SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN ALL COMMUNITY AGREEMENTS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES. PROBLEMS HAVE ARISEN IN RECENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND THE SOVIET UNION, THE GDR, POLAND AND HUNGARY, BECAUSE OF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES' RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT THE REALITY OF BERLIN'S INCLUSION IN THE AREA OF APPLICABILITY OF THE TREATIES SETTING UP THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. THE

WESTERN POSITION MUST BE CAREFULLY MAINTAINED AND PROTECTED BUT IT IS IMPORTANT ALSO THAT A SITUATION SHOULD BE AVOIDED IN WHICH EVERY POSSIBLE AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST IS BLOCKED BECAUSE OF THE APPLICABILITY CLAUSE. GIVEN THE INHERENT IMPORTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OF THE AGREEMENTS PROPOSED, IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT ANY MORE FAVORABLE OPPORTUNITY WILL OCCUR TO OBTAIN SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF BERLIN'S PLACE IN THE COMMUNITIES. FLEXIBILITY AND INGENUITY WILL BE NEEDED BY ALL CONCERNED.

(C) THE GOVERNING MAYOR'S ASSUMPTION OF THE BUNDESRAT PRESIDENCY.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT IN THE EXERCISE OF THE OFFICE THE FORMAL AND VISIBLE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE GOVERNING MAYOR'S FUNCTIONS SHOULD BE MAINTAINED. THE GOVERNING MAYOR HAS SAID HE WILL EXERCISE THE OFFICE WITH RESTRAINT. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES WILL HAVE FIRM GROUND ON WHICH TO BASE A COMPLAINT. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE CERTAIN INDICATIONS THAT THE USSR MAY
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INTEND NOT TO PLAY UP THE SUBJECT, THE QUESTION IS A HIGHLY SENSITIVE ONE AND WILL REQUIRE

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CONTINUED CLOSE MONITORING AND CAREFUL COORDINATION
BY THE ALLIES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
TO ENSURE THAT QUESTIONS OF POLITICAL WISDOM ARE
FULLY CONSIDERED.

(D) GDR ATTEMPTS TO ENHANCE ITS ROLE REGARDING
BERLIN

AS NOTED ABOVE, SIGNS OF THIS TREND HAVE ALREADY
APPEARED. THE TREND CAN BE EXPECTED TO
CONTINUE AND THE GDR, BOTH IN INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS AND IN ITS EFFORTS TO "NORMALIZE"
ITS RELATIONS WITH THE ALLIES, CAN BE EXPECTED TO
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ATTEMPT TO ASSERT A COMPETENCE FOR BERLIN MATTERS
TO WHICH IT IS NOT ENTITLED. THESE ATTEMPTS MUST
BE CONSISTENTLY REBUFFED.

(E) THE VIABILITY OF BERLIN.

THIS QUESTION WILL CONTINUE TO BE OF GREAT
IMPORTANCE; IT IS THEREFORE ALSO COVERED BY A
SEPARATE PAPER FOLLOWING UP THE VIABILITY STUDY
PRESENTED TO MINISTERS IN DECEMBER 1977. THE
INCREASED ASSISTANCE PLANNED BY THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT AND THE HIGH PRIORITY GIVEN TO THE
QUESTION BY THE SENAT OFFER HOPE OF IMPROVEMENT
IN THIS AREA. END TEXT

2. COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC CHANGES, OTHER THAN THOSE
WHICH APPEAR TO BE PURELY EDITORIAL ONES, ARE AS FOLLOWS:

A) THE USE OF THE PHRASE QUOTE IN AND AROUND THE CITY
UNQUOTE WAS INSERTED AT FRG INSISTENCE TO SHOW THAT THE

CALM RELATES TO MATTERS SUCH AS ACCESS. THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONTENTS THAT PRESSURE IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND ON TIES REMAINS UNCHANGED. THE UK BRACKETS ARE BECAUSE THE FCO DOES NOT LIKE THE WORD QUOTE TENSIONS UNQUOTE IN A PAPER SHOWN TO MINISTERS WHILE THE FRG WOULD NOT AGREE TO THE STATEMENT THAT QUOTE DIFFERENCES ARE LESS MARKED UNQUOTE.

B) THE NEW SENTENCE ON THE BREZHNEV VISIT AND THE DELETION OF THE SENTENCE REGARDING THE FRG'S MOOD IS THE RESULT OF RECONSIDERATION AND REFLECTION IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

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C) PARAGRAPH (4) WAS REVISED AT FCO REQUEST TO REFLECT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THOSE AREAS WHERE THE SOVIETS WILL ACTIVELY PROTEST AND THOSE WHERE THEY WILL MERELY REFUSE TO COOPERATE.

D) PARAGRAPH (6) WAS REVISED, AT FCO REQUEST, BECAUSE THE FCO CONSIDERED THE RUMORS OF RESTRICTIONS ON ACCESS A QUOTE NON-EVENT UNQUOTE. THE FRENCH AGREED. THE REFERENCE TO BERLINERS BEING REFUSED ENTRY WAS AT FRG REQUEST AND WAS PROBABLY INTENDED AS A REMINDER THAT NOT ONLY THE ALLIES GO TO EAST BERLIN. THERE HAS BEEN NO PARTICULAR CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF BERLINERS TURNED BACK.

E) REGARDING PARAGRAPHS (12) AND (13), THE BONN GROUP WAS IN AGREEMENT THAT THE TRANSITION BETWEEN THE PARAGRAPHS WAS NOT IDEAL. THE DRAFTING CHANGES ATTEMPT TO DEAL WITH THAT PROBLEM. THE CHANGES REQUESTED BY THE DEPARTMENT WERE MADE IN PARAGRAPHS (10) AND (13).

F) IN PARAGRAPH (13), REGARDING THE PAPER WAR OF PROTESTS, THE FCO VIEW IS THAT THE FORMER TEXT DOES NOT REFLECT FULLY SOVIET PURPOSES. IT WAS THEREFORE AGREED TO DELETE THE REFERENCE TO PURPOSE.

G) BOTH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH WANTED TO DELETE PARAGRAPH (14), ON THE PUTATIVE GROUND THAT IT WAS UNNECESSARY, MADE THE PAPER TOO LONG, ETC. THE US AND FRG REPS STRONGLY AND SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED THESE ATTEMPTS ALTHOUGH THE TEXT HAS BEEN MODIFIED SOMEWHAT. FRG BONN GROUP REP (VON BRAUNMUEHL) SAYS THAT HE WILL RECOMMEND THAT BLECH, WHO HAS THE SAME VIEWS WE DO ABOUT THE FRENCH AND BRITISH PENCHANT FOR REDRAFTING, STRONGLY SUPPORT THE US VIEWS IN ANY DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT. VON BRAUNMEHL SAID THAT BLECH WOULD PROBABLY NOT WISH

TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE OF RAISING THE SUBJECT SINCE HE
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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03 ACDA-12
PA-01 SS-15 SP-02 TRSE-00 H-01 OIC-02 IO-13 EB-08
COME-00 /085 W

-----072752 211334Z /47

O R 211236Z MAY 78 ZFF 4

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8721

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 06 BONN 09252

IS THE NEWEST OF THE FOUR REPRESENTATIVES AT THE SENIOR
LEVEL MEETING.

H) PARAGRAPH (15-A) WAS REDRAFTED BY THE FCO TO BE
MORE PRECISE AND FLAG THE EXPECTED PROBLEMS.

I) PARAGRAPH (15-B) RESULTED IN FRANK EXCHANGES BETWEEN
THE FRG AND UK REPS, WITH THE LATTER EMPHASIZING THE
INTERNAL POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF REACHING

AGREEMENT WITH THE BLOC ON THE FISHERIES, TEXTILE, ETC.
AGREEMENTS. THE FRENCH REP SAID THAT QUAI ALSO WANTED
THE PARAGRAPH REDRAFTED ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED BY
THE UK REP. THE FRG REP AGREED TO THE TEXT, WITH MINOR
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CHANGES, WHICH WAS PROPOSED BY THE FCO BUT COMMENTED
THAT EACH CAN READ IT AS HE SEES FIT.

3. REGARDING THE NAC BRIEFING, THE UK REP, WHO IS
RESPONSIBLE FOR DRAFTING IT, WILL PROBABLY PROPOSE TO
MAKE SECTION I OF THE ASSESSMENT THE NAC BRIEFING.
WHETHER THE BRIEFING WILL BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO MAY 24
IS UNCERTAIN, SINCE ITS TEXT IS DEPENDENT ON THE
APPROVAL OF THE ASSESSMENT AND MUST BE SEPARATELY
APPROVED BY CAPITALS.

4. THE DEPARTMENT AND USNATO WILL RECALL THAT THE
CUSTOM HAS BEEN NOT TO GIVE THE NAC THE ENTIRE
ASSESSMENT BUT TO MODIFY IT. THIS IS BOTH BECAUSE OF
FRENCH OPPOSITION TO TELLING THE NAC TOO MUCH AND
BECAUSE, BY CONFINING THE ASSESSMENT TO A MORE
RESTRICTED READERSHIP, IT IS POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT
TO A MORE FRANK APPRAISAL THAN WOULD OTHERWISE BE THE
CASE. IN ORDER TO SAVE THE TIME REQUIRED TO REFER YET
ANOTHER TEXT TO THE DEPARTMENT, WE REQUEST AUTHORIZATION
TO AGREE TO THE TEXT OF A NAC BRIEFING WITHOUT FURTHER
APPROVAL BY THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD SUCH A STEP
FACILITATE QUICK FINAL APPROVAL BY THE FRG AND THE
ALLIES.

5. ACTION REQUESTED: APPROVAL OF TEXT IN PARAGRAPH
(1).
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ALLIANCE, MINISTERIAL MEETINGS, COMMITTEE MEETINGS, STATUS OF BERLIN, MEETING REPORTS
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Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 may 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
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ISecure: 1
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Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
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Status: NATIVE
Subject: NATO MINISTERIAL: SENIOR LEVEL MEETING ON BERLIN AND GERMANY -- ASSESSMENT
TAGS: PGOV, WB, BQG, NATO, EEC
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